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PERSONAL NAME AS MNEMONIC DEVICE OR CONVERSATIONAL RESOURCE: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY ON THE NAMING PRACTICE AMONG THE GLUI AND GLANA SAN

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ABSTRACT This article investigates the naming practice of the Glui and Glana Khôe-speaking people, inhabiting the central Kalahari, Botswana. In Glui/Glana society, newborn babies are usually named by their fathers after some conspicuous incident which occurred during pregnancy or infancy. For the analysis, the following three aspects are distinguished: (I) the signifying function of a name, (II) the denotation of a name, and (III) the connotation of a name. (I) The anecdotes after which 167 persons had been named were classified into the following types: (1) circumstances of marriage; (2) the physical or mental condition of the mother during the prenatal or neonatal periods; (3) conflict; (4) the name of land; (5) economic transaction; (6) sociability; (7) relationship with the Bakgalagadi agro-pastoralists, #ébé; (8) hunting and gathering; (9) the appearance or condition of the infant; and (10) others. More than 40 percent of the total cases were categorized into the type (3). This point suggests that the primary signifying function of the Glui/Glana names is to encode negative insinuations targeting one's conjugal partner, kinsmen, or co-residents. (II) As the most personal names of the Glui/Glana are composed of common nouns and verbs, the literal meaning of each name cannot help being evoked at each usage for reference. Therefore the encoded content of a name is open to the possibility of re-interpretation which may not necessarily coincide with the original context of naming. (III) The peculiar feature of the Glui/Glana naming practice is that the kinds of name are quite divergent, resulting in a low proportion of 'the same name.' This divergence reflects the most essential characteristics of the everyday field of oral discourse, where naming is contiguous with ordinary speech. This feature stands in sharp contrast to the "homonymous method" among the Jul'hoan inhabiting the north-eastern area of Namibia.

Key Words: Glui and Glana; Foragers; Personal name; Conflict; Everyday conversation.

1. INTRODUCTION

This article investigates the naming practice of the Glui and Glana Khôe-speaking people (abbreviated as Glui/Glana), having inhabited, until 1997, the Xade area in the mid western part of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, Botswana.⁽¹⁾ In Glui/Glana society, newborn babies are most usually named by their father, or less frequently by their mother or other kinsmen, after some conspicuous incident which occurred during pregnancy and infancy. The first purpose of this investigation is to elucidate the social, cultural, and historical contexts underlying the personal names, by analyzing the anecdotes from which they had derived. The second purpose is to reveal the conversational process through which

the participants use someone's personal name not only as a means to refer to him/her, but also as the resource for interpreting the local context of social relationship.

1-1. Theoretical Background

In order to prepare the theoretical background, semiotic and philosophical arguments about proper names will be briefly reviewed. According to Sebeok's naturalistic theory of semiotics, the signified of a proper name lacks intension and is defined only by its extension (Sebeok, 1976). On the contrary, Eco characterizes the proper name as sign that only has a vague connotation, while he points out that the denotation of a stranger's personal name is vacant (Eco, 1976). Such an apparent discrepancy in definition, illuminating the complicated nature of proper name as sign, might derive from the difference in perspectives of two scholars: Sebeok attempts to propose rather a logical definition of proper name that serves to distinguish it from other families of sign, i.e., signal, index, symptom, icon, and symbol, while Eco pays attention to its semiotic behavior and function in specific cultural context.

Agreeing with the "causal scheme of reference" proposed by Kripke (1980), I wish to emphasize the following two points as the most basic condition under which a proper name functions as a "rigid designator" that refers to the same individual in every possible world: (a) An individual is perceived as a discrete unit, and (b) the name is given by the other(s) to this unit. More specifically, for anthropological investigation of personal names, it is useful to distinguish the following three aspects:

(I) The signifying function of a name: So far as it is composed of various grammatical particles, or lexemes, a name has a literal meaning.

(II) The denotation of a name: Often accompanied with some qualifier, either verbal or nonverbal, a name necessarily refers to an individual.

(III) The connotation of a name: Each one name, being opposed to the others, might have some positional value in the whole structure of personal names that is specific to the focused society.

Further remarks should be added to the above aspect (I). If, in some assumed societies, every personal name belongs to a particular set of lexeme that encode neither semantic intension nor grammatical function, it has no signifying function. On the contrary, in another societies where a personal name, or at least its constituent lexicon, is included by an inventory of ordinary morphemes, its signifying function not only evokes some literal meaning but also throws light onto the original process of naming in some specific context of usage. Below, I will concentrate my attention onto these three aspects of the Glui/Glana personal names in this order.

1-2. Ethnographic Background, Subject Group, and Method

The Glui and Glana are closely-related dialect groups of Khôe-speaking people who have been collectively designated in anthropological literatures as the

“Central San” or “Central Kalahari San” (Barnard, 1992). These groups have adapted to the harsh dry environment of the Kalahari Desert in particular. Studies on ecological anthropology have been conducted by Silberbauer (1981) and Tanaka (1980) on the people living in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR). Especially, Tanaka focused his attention to the groups of people who were spending nomadic life in and around the Xade area, which is located in the midwestern part of CKGR. In 1979, by implementing the Remote Area Development Program (RADP), the government of Botswana started to prompt the people from this area to settle around the !Koi!kom borehole (Tanaka, 1987). The settlement that was formed was named Xade by the government, after the name of a large pan, !q’arè, located 12 km east of !Koi!kom.

Tanaka and Silberbauer both briefly describe the naming conventions in Glui/Glana society; “the !Kung San have definite rules regarding the assignment of names, but the #Kade San [i.e., Glui and Glana] do not. Some names derive from incidents occurring at the time of birth; others are simply names of items or everyday phrases.... Some names have no meaning at all....” (Tanaka, 1980: 100). “A baby is named by the grandparents or by one of the siblings of its parents in a public announcement. The name usually commemorates some happening or circumstances associated with birth” (Silberbauer, 1981: 164).

The results of my investigations on Glui/Glana personal names differ from the above observations in the following two points. Firstly, according to my interviews, there are few names that “have no meaning at all.” Furthermore, most of the names that apparently seemed to be “simply names of items or everyday phrases” came turn out to have derived from “incidents occurring at the time of birth.” Secondly, I found that babies were most frequently named by their own father.

I conclude that in the Glui/Glana society newborn babies are most usually named by their father after some conspicuous incident that occurred during pregnancy or infancy. Such a naming convention, resulting in a quite low percentage of persons with the ‘same name,’ stands in sharp contrast to the homonymous method that is common among the Ju|’hoan (!Kung), which will be discussed in the final section. On the other hand, among the Naro, a Khôe-speaking group neighboring the Glui/Glana, one can find many names “that speak about certain circumstances” which occurred at the time of birth. However, the Naro naming convention is different from that of the Glui and Glana, as children are generally named after family members (Visser & Visser, 1998: 227–229). After the relocation to New Xade, also among the Glui and Glana, considerable number of infants were named after their relatives. This point will be re-examined in the final section.

The notation of the Glui words in this article principally follows the orthography that had been established by Nakagawa (1996) and was afterwards revised by himself (Nakagawa, 2006). According to Nakagawa’s another work on grammatical paradigms (Nakagawa, 2013), although the order of words basically follows Subject+Object+Verb structure, a wide range of variety is allowed. The system of personal pronouns follows an almost complete paradigm with only an exception of first person singular that does not distinguish masculine and femi-

nine. A number of particles composed of one or two syllables denote the tense, aspect, and derivative meaning of nouns and verbs.

2. CULTURE AND HISTORY ENCODED IN THE PERSONAL NAMES

2-1. Recent Changes

In 1987, I began to ask the members of my host group, most of them were Glui, in rather an ad-lib way, of the incidents after which they had been named. While in 1989 I also continued to collect the data by means of ad-lib sampling, during the research period of 1992 I carried out a systematic inquiry into the personal names of many people who were living in the other camps than my host group. In 1994, supplementary data were collected. At last, a quantitative analysis was carried out of data thus collected from 202 persons. Six age brackets were distinguished in the period of 1994; Old, Middle-aged, Adult, Young adult, Adolescent, and Juvenile (Table 1). Most of those belonging to the last category were born after the implementation of the RADP. Their names are registered on the medical reports of the Xade clinic. Here, even if the mother of a baby told the nurse a Glui/Glana name, the latter would translate it into Setswana. Most of the parents accepted the Setswana name thus suggested. These circumstances are reflected in the conspicuously high percentage (nearly 70 percent) of names with Setswana origin in the category 'Juvenile.' This point indicates that the traditional Glui/Glana naming practice in their own language is now rapidly losing significance.

Table 1. Personal names with Setswana origins

Age/sex	Old	Middle-aged	Adult	Young adult	Adolescent	Juvenile	Total
Male	2/11	1/10	1/13	5/23	5/19	13/18	27/94
(%)	(18.2)	(10.0)	(7.7)	(21.7)	(26.3)	(72.2)	(28.7)
Female	1/14	0/15	2/22	1/13	1/8	24/36	29/108
(%)	(7.1)	(0.0)	(9.1)	(7.7)	(12.5)	(66.7)	(26.9)
Total	3/25	1/25	3/35	6/36	6/27	37/54	56/202
(%)	(12.0)	(4.0)	(8.6)	(16.7)	(22.2)	(68.5)	(27.7)

The age grades were estimated in 1992, taking into consideration the relative order of birth, appearance, and the positions in the life cycle. Juvenile: Those whose estimated ages were 14 years old or younger. Absolute ages were ascertained for those who had been born after 1982, when the author's research had started; Adolescent: Unmarried persons whose estimated ages were 15 years old and more; Young adult: Married persons having one or no child; Adult: Married persons having two or more children; Middle-aged: Married persons whose children mostly had grown up. Old: They had been already adult in 1967, when Tanaka started his research.

2-2. The Types of Anecdotes: A General Picture

Except for those names for which the original Setswana words could not be ascertained, the anecdotes after which 167 persons had been named could be classified into nine types, including three subtypes, and others: (1) circumstances of the marriage, (2) the physical or mental condition of the mother during the prenatal or neonatal periods, (3) conflicts that are sub-classified into, (3.1) those having derived from extra-marital sexual relationships called *dzáã-ku*, (3.2) other kinds of conflict between husband and wife, (3.3) those caused by some incongruity of socio-economic interests, (4) the name of land, (5) economic transaction, (6) sociability, (7) the relationships with the Bakgalagadi agro-pastoralists, *†ébè*, (8) hunting and gathering, (9) the appearance or physical condition of the infant, and (10) others (Table 2).

Table 2. Types of episodes from which the personal names had derived

Types of episodes	male names	female names	Total
(1) circumstances of marriage	10 (12.0)	12 (14.3)	22 (13.2)
(2) the physical/mental condition of the mother	9 (10.8)	8 (9.5)	17 (10.2)
(3) [conflicts]	[31 (37.3)]	[38 (45.2)]	[69 (41.3)]
(3.1) conflicts deriving from <i>dzáã-ku</i> relationships	15 (18.1)	13 (15.5)	28 (16.8)
(3.2) other conflicts between husband and wife	3 (3.6)	6 (7.1)	9 (5.4)
(3.3) conflicts caused by socio-economic interests	13 (15.7)	19 (22.6)	32 (19.2)
(4) the name of land	5 (6.0)	1 (1.2)	6 (3.6)
(5)+(6) economic transaction and sociability	6 (7.2)	3 (3.6)	9 (5.4)
(7) relationship with the Bakgalagadi (<i>†ébè</i>)	7 (8.4)	4 (4.8)	11 (6.6)
(8) hunting and gathering	9 (10.8)	13 (15.5)	22 (13.2)
(9) the appearance or physical condition of the infant	6 (7.2)	3 (3.6)	9 (5.4)
(10) others	0 (0.0)	2 (2.4)	2 (1.2)
Total	83	84	167

The figures in parentheses indicate the percentages in each column. There is no significant difference in the distribution of episode types between male and female names (chi-square test for two independent samples: $\chi^2=6.0745$, $df=7$, n.s.). For the statistical validity, the 10 rows are reduced to eight by excluding (10) and by summing similar types; (1)+(2) and (4)+(5)+(6).

More than 40 percent of the total cases were categorized into the type (3). This point suggests that the primary signifying function of the Glui/Glana names is to encode negative insinuations targeting one's conjugal partner, kinsmen, or co-residents. Especially, the type (3.1) included second most frequent cases, which indicates the special significance of the *dzáã-ku*⁽²⁾ relationship, i.e., extra-marital sexual relationship, for the Glui/Glana social life (Tanaka, 1989; Sugawara, 2004). In the following section 2-4 I shall examine this point in more detail. Examining the distribution of all the types of anecdotes among the age brackets, only the type (7) was found significantly frequent in the Old/Middle category. This reflects that, compared to recent times, the contact with the Bakgalagadi was of more memorable nature half a century ago (Sugawara, 2002). In section 2.5 I will mention several examples of this type in order to illuminate the asymmetrical relationship between the Glui/Glana foragers and the Bakgalagadi agro-pastoralists, in which the latter people were in the dominant position.

2-3. Some Characteristics of Lexeme Construction

Excluding the names with Setswana origin, the lexeme constructions of 151 Glui/Glana names are examined (Table 3). As was pointed out in section 1-2, the order of words in Glui/Glana generally follows the [Subject]+Object+Verb structure. However, focusing on the construction of personal names that consists of noun and verb, the cases in which the verb precedes the noun (object) are far more frequent (31/151=20.5%) than the opposite cases in which the noun precedes the verb (8/151=5.3%). Inversing the order of words that constructs a predicative phrase is a simple method to differentiate it from the ordinary sense of the phrase. It is supposed that, for the Glui/Glana pragmatic sensitivity, this method might have an effect of marking out the targeted phrase for a personal or, more broadly, proper name.

Table 3. An inventory of Glui/Glana personal names

Number	Name	Lexeme composition	Types of episodes
1Mm	sêê-k'òè	take-person	(1) circumstances of marriage
2Mm	jina-sêê	flatter [alt]-take	
3Ma	kena-mā-sí	look for-DRV-DRV (benefit) (reflexive)	
4Ma	dáō-η oō (GA)	pay-quiver	
5My	kêrō-ha	promise [alt]-PFT	
6My	āwā-sêê	love deeply [alt]-take	
7My	sêê-mā	take-give	
8Mj	*tχowa-sêê	<i>tlhoa</i> (hate)-take	
9Mj	*kitsaaba	<i>ke tshaba</i> (I fear)	
10Mj	†?an†?an	think[rdp]>be undecided	
11Fm	!āā-kémā	fail to find-bride wealth	
12Fm	g àē-k'òè	female-person	
13Fm	tsao-sêê	beg-take	
14Fa	cùē-kene	migration-want	
15Fa	χoa-sêê-g āē (χou)	desert [alt]-take-female (desert: shortene form)	
16Fa	ùē-g āē	all-female	
17Fy	η+oā-†qχ'oaχo	sit [alt]-turn out	
18Fy	η†ero-ha	dislike [alt]-PFT	
19Fy	cùē-mā-! ^b àrè	migrate-DRV-necklace (benefit) [aphrodisiac]	
20Fj	tsχāā-†qχ'oaχo	hate-turn out	
21Fj	†?an-chēmā	like-NEG	
22Fj	!?ane-!?ane	center [rdp] > be in the midst of	
23Mo	χou	divination	(2) the physical or mental condition of the mother
24Mm	tshēū- qχ'óri	hand-dirt [curing ritual]	
25Mm	*tsaatsi	<i>letsatsi</i> (the sun)	
26Ma	júū-bèē	eland-fear	
27Ma	*tsebeeka	<i>tsebe</i> (ear)	
28My	*kanta	<i>kenta</i> (injection)	
29My	ùē-tsóò	all-medicine	
30My	*ñaaka	<i>naaka</i> ([witch]doctor)	
31Mj	jírā-nā-béēsì	visit [alt]-CLT-give up	
32Fo	?oo-lāē	die-recover	
	(g ōrì)	(slender mangoose)	
33Fm	buakene-m-g āē	PN-PGN (3/m/sg/gen)-female	

Table 3. (continued)

Number	Name	Lexeme composition	Types of episodes
34Fm	cie-!ao	stand-aside	
35Fy	?oo-mā	die-DRV (desperate)	
36Fy	qx'ae- χàè-tsóò	cry-PSTP (on/about)-medicine	
37Fl	?aja-mā	buy [alt]-DRV (benefit)	
38Fj	‡?oa‡?ora- ^b ae	ask [rdp>persistently]-be perplexed	
39Mo	!ae- ^b ae	bind-be perplexed	(3.1) conflicts deriving from dzáá-kú relationships
40Ma	sèèχó	throw away	
41Ma	dāō-ηuu (GA)	burn-hut	
42Ma	Xara	bottle	
43My	chērē-mā-!áoχó (chērēxó)	file [alt]-DRV (threat)-knife (shortened form)	
44My	*poroota	<i>porotela</i> (judge <talk incessantly)	
45My	sēē-mā-η‡úā	take-DRV (threat)-club	
46Ml	!āō-‡qx'oaxo	attack-turn out	
47Ml	*χaise	<i>gaïse</i> (big house)	
48Ml	*tsaine (English?)	<i>chain?</i>	
49Ml	kurja- qx'óò-si (!?aon)	get angry [alt]-kill-DRV (reflexive) (be choked)	
50Mj	^b ae-‡qx'oaxo	be disgusted-turn out	
51Mj	*pakiika	<i>patika</i> (cheat <distress)	
52Mj	*kakiisa	<i>kakisa</i> (consume <make busy)	
53Mj	*pakiriiza	<i>pateletsa</i> (accuse falsely)	
54Fo	Goya-séè	trifle with [alt]-take	
55Fm	χáo-piri	battle-goat	
56Fm	!χoo-kúā	grasp-Bushman	
57Fa	jīō-ha	burn [alt]-PFT	
58Fa	qx'ama-séè	beat-take	
59Fa	!°oo-‡qx'oaxo	be a constant visitor-turn out	
60Fa	!°ūwā-qx'āi	be unknowing [alt]-DRV (emphasis)	
61Fa	qx'árē-séè	cry [alt]-take	
62Fa	hoo-!°āē	court-stab	
63Fl	η!āō-séè	hide-take	
64Fl	qx'árē- qx'ām	cry-shudder	
65Fl	qx'áo-boo	hit?-hatchet	
66Fj	*qoreeχa	<i>kgelega</i> (cheat <backslide)	
67Fj	*patiika	<i>patika</i> (cheat <distress)	
68Mo	qx'ówā- Goi	kill [alt]-trifle with	(3.2) other conflicts between husband and wife
69My	hare-séè	fail to share-take	
70My	!hona-séè	desert-take	
71Fm	η āē-η àè-k°òè	talk [rdp >be talkative]-person	
72Fa	*ηjaatsa	<i>nyatsa</i> (despise)	
73Fy	?ai-qx'oi	be rich (NA)-speak	
74Fy	qx'óò-k°òè	kill-person	
75Fj	séè-kú	take-DRV (mutual) = marriage	
76Fj	!āā-séè	leave behind-take	
77Mo	qx'ama-!áo	beat-attack	(3.3) conflicts caused by socio-economic interests
78Mo	η‡úē-kú-cùē	object-DRV (mutual)-migrate	
79Mo	!hoa-?aja	desert-chief	
80My	tsχāā-qx'ò	hate-DRV (person with a habit)	
81Ml	qx'oja-‡qx'oaxo (?ōmā-ha)	speak [alt]-turn out (sleep [alt]-PFT)	
82Mj	cùē-mā- ?owā	migrate-DRV (benefit)-PN	
83Mj	*kirapire	<i>ke lapile</i> (I'm tired)	

Table 3. (continued)

Number	Name	Lexeme composition	Types of episodes
84Fo	ts'āā-béē (béē)	steal-headband (with cowries) (shortened form)	
85Fo	ŋ'loō-g ām	land-love	
86Fm	qχ'oi-k'òè	speak-person	
87Fa	!χoe-bà	run-DIM	
88Fa	qχ'oja-mā-?aja	speak[alt]-DRV (benefit)-be rich	
89Fa	ŋ oō-sà-séè	quiver-PGN (3/f/sg/acc)-take	
90Fa	ŋ are-mā	talk-DRV (benefit)	
91Fj	huja-+qχ'oaχo	drive away [alt]-turn out	
92Fj	qχ'are-mā	cry [alt]-DRV (desperate)	
93Fj	bèrē-mā	fear-DRV (desperate)	
94Fj	koma-mā	listen to-DRV (benefit)	
95Mm	hoa-kò	armpit-DRV (person)	
96My	ou-ŋ oō	deprive-quiver	
97My	ciō-χò-qχ'ane (t'ābūká)	sulk-DRV (causative)-termite "reject to receive" (unsteadily)	
98Ml	ŋ uo-glóā	begrudge-monkey orange	
99Ml	ŋ ao-ŋ ao	reject [rdp> reject loudly]	
100Mj	ŋ'loō-sà- i	land-PGN (3/f/sg/acc)-reject	
101Fo	*molac'o	<i>molato</i> (debt)	
102Fo	†?oā-tsāā	eat [alt]-disappear	
103Fo	ŋ āē-ŋ ābī	talk-hatchet	
104Fm	ŋ āē-kubi	talk-cup	
105Fa	qχ'òō-sà (NA?)	beads-PGN (3/f/sg/acc)	
106Fy	ŋoō-dáō (GA)	land-pay	
107Fl	āra-mā	cultivate-DRV (benefit)	
108Fj	ou-láōχò	deprive-knife	
109Mm	cùē-!?am	migrate-PN	(4) the name of land
110Ma	ŋ+uuba	PN	
111My	Xántsì	PN (Ghanzi)	
112Mm	†āā	grass-covered plain	
113Ml	*ŋaayā	<i>naga</i> (land)	
114Fa	Xaiga	PN	
115Mo	qàō-jí	go far seeking after-DRV (object)	(5) economic transaction
116Mm	dáō-ŋ oa (GA)	pay-stone	
117Mm	tsòō-†?oma	medicine-piece	
118Ma	k'òō-sà	pick up-PGN (3/f/sg/acc)	
119Ma	qχ'oi- χàè	speak-PSTP (on) > "Hallow" (greeting phrase)	(6) sociability
120Ml	t'aika	shortened form of "t'aika !ôō" "Nicely go"(seeing someone off)	
121Fo	ŋ+oā-mā-?aja	sit [alt]-DRV (benefit)-be rich	
122Fo	k'újā-mā-dáō(GA)	make a hole [alt]-DRV (benefit)-path	
	(k'úū)	(shortened form)	
123Fa	†?an	Think	
124Mo	piri	goat	(7) relationship with
125Mo	loā	sort out	Bakgalagadi (†ébè)
126Mo	oo-†ébè	return to inform-Bakgalagadi	
127Mm	gùē-ŋ oo (NA)	cattle-quarrel	
128My	*kùēlá	<i>kuela</i> (declare)	
129Ml	†qái-†ébè	accuse falsely-Bakgalagadi	
130Mj	*limesi	<i>lemi</i> (dried seeds or pumpkin fruit)	
131Fo	jíō-cùē	pay-migrate	
132Fm	!oā-kúā	sort out-Bushmen	

Table 3. (continued)

Number	Name	Lexeme composition	Types of episodes
133Fm	qχ'ae- qχ'arè	meet (rdp> get together)	
134Fj	bēē-+ébé	fear-Bakgalagadi	
135Mo	*χorarijo	? (rake the sand)	(8) hunting and gathering
136Ma	g ore	plant name	
137My	?áwā-sēēχó (?áo)	set a snare [alt]-throw away (set a snare: shortened form)	
138My	qχ'are-g!áē	small-steenbok	
139My	qχ'eru	plant name	
140Ml	jem (*qaaqa)	Kalahari tent tortoise (<i>kgakgana</i> : small land tortoise)	
141Ml	η!óē	porcupine	
142Ml	?uru- χama	forget-hartebeest	
143Mj	*motopinjaana	<i>motlopi</i> (plant name)	
144Fo	!háē-xó-!qórù (!?ónò)	stick-thing-wildcat (misunderstood name of wildcat)	
145Fm	!hoe-g āē	medicine for snare-woman	
146Fm	+qai	springbok	
147Fm	+eba	plant name	
148Fa	qane	plant name	
149Fa	ālā	plant name	
150Fa	qχ'óm-bēē	plant name-horse	
151Fy	χama	hartebeest	
152Fy	g oe	leopard tortoise	
153Fy	?ore	plant name	
154Fy	bīi	plant name	
155Fy	dai	crowned plover	
156Fa	*χaba	<i>gaba</i> (cultivate <dig in the ground)	
157Ma	júbè	ripened monkey orange ¹	(9) the appearance or
158Ma	g órò	be frightened to flee	condition of the infant
159My	sòχōrá	“peekaboo” (fondling word)	
160Ml	qχ'óō-sà-lqχ'ae	name-PGN (3/f/sg/acc)-lack	
161Ml	thúúthú	onomatopoeia (dangling penis)	
162Mj	!?ōāpūká	onomatopoeia (swell suddenly)	
163Fo	āā-ts ^b āā	plant name-water	
164Fo	dzōōbà (GA)	hare	
165Fj	tsii	“boo” (fondling word)	
166Fa	η ārē-ciēχó	talk-put ²	(10) others
167Fo	qàò-jí	go far seeking after-DRV (object) [naming from 115Mo]	

In the column “Number” the abbreviations denote the sexes and age grades defined in Table 1: M: male; F: female; o: Old; m: Middle-aged; a: Adult; y: Young adult; l: Adolescent; j: Juvenile. In the column “Name” (GA) and (NA) denote Glana and Naro names respectively, while asterisked names indicate those originating from Setswana words that are specified in Italics in the column “Lexeme composition.” The names in parentheses are another names or alias. Grammatical notations are defined as follows (in the alphabetic order). 3: third person; CLT: clitic; acc: accusative; alt: alternate form of a verb; DRV: derivational particle; f: feminine; gen: genitive; m: masculine; NEG: negative particle; PFT: morpheme producing the perfect form of a verb; PGN: suffix indicating person/gender/number; PN: place name; PSTP: postposition; rdp: reduplication; sg: singular.

¹Although Ego declared that he did not know the reason for his own name, people told that in infancy his head looked like ripened monkey orange.

²Ego told that she did not know the episode from which her name derived because her parents had died in her infancy.

About 11 percent (17/151) of those names in Glui/Glana include a particular verb *sée*. Seven of them are found in the episodes type (1) “circumstances of marriage,” while another eight cases are included by the type (3.1) “conflicts deriving from *dzáã-kú* (extra-marital) relationships or the type (3.2) “other conflict between husband and wife.” This conspicuous feature is explicable in terms of the semantic field of the verb *sée* that encompasses the primary meaning “to take.” The essential meaning for the Glui/Glana sexuality, “to marry with,” derives from this prototypical meaning, so that the marriage itself is denoted by the term *sée-kú* where the derivational suffix *kú* designates the mutuality. Thus, marriage is the relationship in which man and woman “take each other.” Furthermore, the verb *sée* also connotes the blunt act of sexual intercourse that is not necessarily restricted to the conjugal pair.

Another conspicuous feature is that the derivational particle *mã*, originating from a common verb *mãã*, “to give,” often appears in the lexeme construction of the personal names (15/151=9.9%). Especially, it is used in 21.9% (7/32) of the names that are included in the type (3.3) “conflicts caused by socio-economic interests.” Interestingly, just like the Japanese verbs *ageru* or *yaru*, this particle semantically qualifies the preceding verb (PV) in three different ways: The subject’s act denoted by PV implies to be either beneficial to another party, or, on the contrary, threatening against the latter. For example, in 37F1 [lʔaja-mã], 90Fa [ŋlare-mã], and 94Fj [koma-mã], the acts such as “buying,” “talking,” and “listening” are assumed to provide another party with some benefit, while in 43My [cʰērē-mã-!áòxó] or 45My [sēē-mã-ŋʰúã] the subject “filed a knife” or “took a club” with an intention to threaten his sexual rival. Finally, the particle *mã*, usually following an intransitive verb, implies desperate attitude of the subject; e.g., 35Fy [lʔoo-mã] (“I shall die alone!”), 92Fj [qχʰare-mã] (“I will cry persistently”), or 93Fj [bērē-mã] (“I fear [for my own grief]”). Being connected with this derivational particle, the meaning of commonplace behavior was extended to the socio-political one that might have been quite relevant for the local context in which the parents were embedded.

2-4. The Naming Motivated by Grudge and Resentment

The notation system for describing the respective cases of personal name is as follows:

Case number. Identification number in Table 3 **Name in Glui/Glana** (“free translation into English”) <The source of information, or the relationship of the informant with the targeted person>: description of the anecdote.

When either of a conjugal pair has a *dzáã-ku* relation with another partner, it is very likely that the conflict arises between the wife and the husband (Sugawara, 2004).

Case 1. 57Fa *jĩō-ha* (“burning”) <Mother>: I was pounding the seeds of water melons (*ŋlàn*), and was mashing the pulp of the thorny melon (*qāã*). As I was conceiving her (*jĩō-ha*), the youngest son couldn’t suck my breast. So, I saved

both of the cooked melon for him. Then, my husband and his lover came to me. They found the pounded seeds and the mashed pulp, and blamed me for not sharing the food, saying, “Why do you keep aside both of them?” Arguing with them quite hotly, I got so raged that I took live charcoals and pushed them against my husband’s body.

When the wife gives birth to a child sired by the other man, the husband usually is ‘panicked by jealousy’ (*!ʔau-mà tsaã*), so that he is disposed to condense his grudge and resentment into the name of a newborn baby.

Case 2. 43My *cʰērē-mā-!áòxó* (“file a knife [for threat]”) <Ego>: Father went out visiting. Coming back home, he found Mother with her lover in Father’s hut. Outside the hut, he filed his knife on a stone, saying to the man, “Get away from my house. I’ll cut straight your belly with this knife.”

Case 3. 49Ml *kurja-lqχ’óð-sì* (“get angry[-and]-kill oneself [or commit suicide]”) <Genitor; CM>: TM was staying in a hospital in Gaborone for an operation. During his absence, CM living in the same camp had a *dzáã-kú* relationship with TM’s wife. Upon returning home, TM realized what had been going on, and got so angry that he almost choked. Next year his wife bore a male child. TM named him *kurja-lqχ’óð-sì* (Huupeera in Setswana) which means, “get angry, and kill oneself” or, more figuratively, “die of indignation.”

Case 4 (1). 46Ml *!áò-+qχ’oaxo* (“attack”-“drive out”) <Father; SK>: A Glana man, NH, had been SK’s playmate from childhood. Since around 1968, NH had developed a *dzáã-ku* relationship with SK’s wife. When SK found NH in his hut with his wife, he attacked NH, driving him out. The couple’s second son was soon born. Although it was believed that his genitor was SK, he named the baby, *!áò-+qχ’oaxo* (“attack to drive out”) commemorating the above incident.

Case 4 (2). 51Mj *pakiika* (“cheat”; loan word from Setswana) <Father; SK>: About ten years later than the above case, SK traveled to the Ghanzi town, and stayed there for many months. Returning home, he found his wife pregnant. SK questioned her closely, and she soon admitted that her *dzáã-ku* relationship with NH had recommenced. SK had believed that their relationship had ended a long time ago, but they had cheated him. SK’s third son was soon born. The baby was so like NH that nobody doubted, he was the genitor. Therefore, he named the baby *pakiika* (“cheat”).

These examples clearly indicate that such names are loaded with a social message from the husband towards the wife, as well as towards her ex-lover, which would function as a life-long insinuation that persistently represents the husband’s humiliating experience.

2-5. The Names Commemorating the Contact with the Agro-Pastoralist

Not only the Glui/Glana, and Naro, but San groups in general are denominated

by the inclusive term *kúā*, the connotation of which may be “company.” The Bakgalagadi are called *†ébè*. Less frequently, the Glui/Glana also use the synonymous word *qʰàrī*. As the words *kúā* and *†ébè* are frequently used as contrasting categories in everyday conversation and as they clearly characterize the relationship between the Glui/Glana and the Bakgalagadi, I will use the words ‘Kua’ and ‘†Ebe’ to roughly indicate these two “ethnic groups.” The following examples represent a type of anecdotes that refers to the relationship with *†Ebe*.

Case 5. 126Mo *†oo-†ébè* (“return to inform of the Bakgalagadi people’s presence”) <Ego>: During a gathering trip Father found a camp of *†Ebe*, and coming back home, he informed the co-residents of his find.

Case 6. 125Mo *†oā* (“sort out”) <Ego>: Father lived close to a *†Ebe* man. During his absence, the *†Ebe* man stole the skin of a bat-eared fox from him. Finding out afterwards, Father openly spoke ill of the *†Ebe* man. Hearing this, the latter took him out of the crowd and beat him up.

Case 7. 132Fm *†oā-kúā* (“sort out the Bushmen”) [Old woman] <Ego>: In a camp, *†Ebe* and Kua people were living together. The former singled out a few persons from the Kua and shared their food only with them. My parents were among those who received no privileged treatment by the *†Ebe*.

Case 8. 131Fo *†jō-cùē* (“pay for the migration”) <Ego>: Father had a close economic relationship with a *†Ebe* man. When the *†Ebe* man went back to his village, he told Father not to migrate to a different place and he promised to remain. However, during the absence of the *†Ebe* man, Father, agreeing with a proposal of his kinsman, migrated to a place where water melons were abundant. The *†Ebe* man tracked them and accosted the father, saying, “Why did you migrate? Pay me some compensation.”

These anecdotes reveal that there occurred quite a few encounters between the Glui/Glana, and the Bakgalagadi in the central Kalahari, resulting in friendly transactions at least on some occasions. However, they also suggest that the former assumed a subordinate position to the latter. It may not be incidental that both in Cases 6 and 7 “Kua” is the object of the transitive verb “sort out.” The essential character of the relationship to the agro-pastoralist Bakgalagadi, as perceived by the Glui/Glana themselves, may have been encoded into these names (Sugawara, 2002).

2-6. The Long Process of Naming

In section 1-1, I referred to Kripke’s “causal scheme of reference” in which a name had been rigidly attached to an individual by “the first naming ceremony,” and, after then, has been taken over from one node to another in a specific cultural/historical context. However, this formulation puts aside the crucial question: What kind of social process was “the first naming ceremony”? So far as the nam-

ing is entirely left to the arbitrary decision of the ‘other’ especially responsible for the named individual, e.g., the latter’s parents, the naming practice surely constitutes the most essential source of the power. However, in the Glui/Glana society, the practice of naming often goes through a long-term process of communal negotiation. The followings are some of examples:

Case 9. 63F1 **ŋ!āō-sēè** (“hide marrying”)] <Father’s younger brother>: More than 30 years ago, PR (the father) had married Ho, who was then an immature girl. PR had been married twice before: he had divorced one wife and had survived the death of the other. Ho had had relationships with at least four different men and borne four children since PR had been in his late 30s. It is said that PR himself sired none of these children. The naming of the first child, **c^hērē-mā-!āōxó**, was already described in Case 1. Ho’s **dzáā-kú** relationship with her third lover, QM, continued for at least five years (1975–80) and produced two daughters. This relationship was commenced when QM visited the camp of PR who had lived in an area far from Xade. During his long stay there for many months, their relationship developed and Ho got pregnant. The rumor about this love affair reached the ears of QM’s wife who was a classificatory elder sister of PR. When QM came back home, his wife blamed him, saying, “Why haven’t you come back for such a long time after going there? What on earth are you doing, hiding it from me? Anyhow, you might have always visited my younger brother. But you hide it. This man hides the ‘marriage’ (**sèè-ku**). Why do you hide this marriage? Don’t hide it! Tell me all what you have done.” This wise saying by QM’s wife became widely known among the people, reaching PR’s ears. Having been impressed with these words, after Ho gave birth to a female baby, he gave the daughter the name, “hide”-“take” or “hide”-“marry.”

This case clearly shows that the naming is not practiced as an individual choice by the father of a newborn baby, but is negotiated in wider social networks in which the conjugal pair is embedded.

Case 10. 162Mj **!ʔōāpùká** (onomatopoeia denoting “swift swelling”) <Observations>: In 1982, a woman, **qχ’óm-bēē** (“a name of shrub-horse”), in her early twenties bore her first child (son) with the Glana husband. The lexeme, **qχ’óm**, indicates the vernacular name of a kind of shrub which bears small fruits. In 1984, as the father had a lover, a ^hEbe woman, living in another camp and spent so much time with the lover, he rarely came back home. During this period, responding to my answer, **qχ’óm-bēē** said, “My son’s name is ‘**sèēxó-qχ’óm**’ (throw away-**qχ’óm**.)” In 1987, she declared that his name was **ʔōō-k^hana-xó** (“eat-become fat?”-causal suffix). Although the original lexeme could not be ascertained, it was said that the name meant “let [him] eat much and make [him] fat.” In 1989, this boy was called “**!ʔōāpùká**.” The people explained this naming in the following way: The father had neglected his son, spending almost all his time at the lover’s camp, while the grandfather (**qχ’óm-bēē**’s father) gave him so much food that the child grew fat abruptly. Five years later, in 1994, the boy was called with the same name. Thus, it was confirmed that his name had been eventually fixed.

It is to be emphasized that in the above case the name of a child had not been determined for more than five years after birth. It is supposed that the absence of the father, who had hardly fulfilled his duty to raise his child, was a factor that caused the long indeterminacy of the latter's name. Such indeterminacy in naming is also the case for a child borne from an extra-marital relationship, or by an unmarried girl. In the following case, the young mother never confessed who was the genitor of the baby.

Case 11. 53Mj pakiriiza (“a false charge”; loan word from the Setswana, *pateletsa*) <Reconstruction from everyday conversations>: Nb (about 30 years old) is the younger sister of jō-ha, described in the Case 1. Nb's classificatory younger sister, Qg, in her early twenties married the younger brother of Nb's husband; however, she had a female baby as a result of a relationship with an unknown man in early 1989 during the long absence of her husband, who had been staying at a nearby town, Ghantzi, to earn money. People harbored suspicions that TB (about 25 years old), one of my research assistants, had fathered this baby, and seriously questioned him about his affair with Qg. He protested, saying, “Oh! Will you all make a false charge against me and take me to the prison?” Afterward, the Setswana word for “a false charge”, *pakiriiza*, had been widely repeated. Then, Qg went with Nb and another kinswomen to take her baby to the clinic for a medical examination, although she had not yet named the child. When asked for the baby's name by the nurse, Qg turned to Nb and the others, asking, “What was the name you had mentioned previously?” Nb, quite astonished, answered, “How can we know your baby's name?” In 1990, Qg's husband came back home from the town. Finding his wife with a baby, he never got angry, and said, “As the daughter was born, I'm glad.” At last, this child was named not *pakiriiza* but *tumetse* that was said to mean “be glad” in Setswana, though the original Setswana word could not be ascertained. In 1991, Qg's younger sister (from different father), Gr, got married. In 1992, Gr had a male baby. Although Gr put her husband under suspicion of his relationship with Nb's younger sister, he denied it and named his son *pakiriiza* (“false charge”).

The above complicated process suggests that a personal name might be made use of as a kind of ‘symbolic resource.’ Once a participant in an argument concerning a particular instance of ‘reproduction’ stumbles on a bright word (or phrase), it immediately becomes a candidate for the newborn baby's name. Although this ‘invention’ should have been quite specific to the peculiar context of the argument, it circulates around the social networks, being applicable to the similar context in which different characters are involved.

Case 12. 160Ml lqχ'on-sà-lqχ'āē (“lacking the name”) <Cross cousins>: It is not until I (Sugawara) carried out a systematic survey of personal names in 1992 that I knew this guy's true name: since the first period of my research, I had believed that his name was g̃ame-gù (“an utensil with a hole”-diminutive). However, according to my research assistants who are his cross-cousins, this is a nickname they gave to him to make fun of his incompetence: They likened him

to the useless utensil. “Then, what is his true name?” Hearing their answer, I could hardly believe my ears. It meant “[he] doesn’t have a name.” His parents had failed to give him a name, until he had become rather tall. One day, they noticed this, and immediately named him “lacking the name.”

The last example casts doubt on the modern understanding, or even ideology, concerning the personal name that is apt to regard it as an emblem of individual uniqueness or singularity. Either they are named or not, the children are surely here, and receive care and affection from their parents and relatives. It is evident that the Glui/Glana have absolutely nothing to do with the motivation to pray for their children’s happiness by giving them ‘good’ names. Furthermore, they are also free from the ontological anxiety about individual identity, which tempts us to be afraid that, unless one is labeled with some ‘proper’ name, his/her existence might become blurred. If we remember that the traditional social life of the Glui/Glana has consisted in the life-long acquaintances with rather a restricted number of people, the above assumption might not be so fantastic. Within a social space “small enough for everyone to know everyone else” (Lee & DeVore, 1968: 11), there is no reason to distinguish ‘significant others’ from the ‘anonymous people’.⁽³⁾

In spite of this, at most, as many as five or six years have passed after birth, then every child comes to have a name, even though it might be such as “lacking-the-name.” Why so? In my view, this is due to the ‘convenience for calling.’ The growth of infant coincides with the increment of autonomous activity that allows it to go more ‘far’ from its home. In fact, in my host camp, the parents frequently call their children to come back for the meal or for some helping with the housework. If we imagine of many years during which we have forgotten to name our children, we would wonder how peaceful these days are. However, such a long-lasting lack of motivation for naming is exceptional even among the Glui/Glana. In most cases, the people would have various reasons that prompt them to think of their children’s names, to call them, or to activate the communal field of negotiation and interpretation.

3. BETWEEN MEANING AND REFERENCE: HOW IS A NAME MENTIONED IN CONVERSATION?

3-1. The Meaning Restored

Let me mention my tiny discovery concerning the Japanese family name. At the edge of a local village, I strayed into a shallow and gentle valley where the stream is lined on both sides with many paddy fields. At a nearby cemetery, I found a number of gravestones with the same name, Oku-hata (“the inner part-field”). I supposed that, in the Meiji Restoration, when the peasants were emancipated from the feudal class system and were allowed to have the surname, those villagers who had cleared riverine bushes for the fields named themselves after

this laborious practice. It is assumed that the popular surnames in Japan, Tanaka (“paddy field-inside”) and Yama-da (“mountain-paddy field”) had been established through the similar process. In “the first naming ceremony” (Kripke, 1980) in which these names were adopted to designate some sets of human beings, the literal meanings such as “the middle of a paddy field” (Tanaka), and “a paddy field near the mountain” (Yamada) should have been lively evoked. However, as these names have been used repeatedly over a number of generations, the meaning that had been originally encoded into the ‘common noun’ would be ‘frozen’ into an opaque form of ‘proper name’: This original meaning would rarely be decoded in the context of each usage, where the reference to the objects such as paddy field or mountain is quite irrelevant.

The above argument might be true for the Glui/Glana personal names. In the section 2-4, it was pointed out that some names were loaded with a definite social message; e.g., from the father of a newborn baby towards his wife, and so on. However, as the child grows up, the memory of the original incident from which the name had derived would become less evocative. In other words, the signification of common nouns, verbs, or adjectives that constitute the name would be gradually frozen into the opaqueness of the proper name. Then, is it possible that such frozen signification is thawed out again? Two examples will be examined below.

Case 13 (1). 123Fa #?an (“think”) <Ego>: For a long time, my father had thought of visiting a land named Ruuze. He used to say to my mother, “That is my land. My kinsmen are there.” He was thinking about that land every day, and meanwhile I was born.

Case 13 (2). Excerpt of conversation (13/10/’89)

Nb (about 30 years old) was talking to her elder sister-in-law (eBW), Xo, about the quarrel she witnessed the day before. She drew water from the borehole, and on the way home encountered the quarrel between her elder sister Gk and #?an who was badly drunk. As Gk was beaten by #?an, Nb tried to settle the quarrel, but Gk turned round on Nb.

- 1 Nb: Gk was crazy yesterday. I had previously said to her, “You, let #?an alone.
- 2 Even though you try to stop #?an, she refuses, and quarrels with you.”
- 3 Xo: When drunk, she is bad. She sits down, clinging to you, and if you talk to her,
- 4 she never let you alone. She digs a pit and enters it.
- 5 That woman’s ‘origin’ (!àò) is ‘thinking and objecting’.
- 6 so that, when she drink with another person, she cannot talk quietly.

In the line 4, “She digs a pit and enters it” is supposed to be a metaphorical representation of drunken behavior of pestering the others. Underlined utterances of Xo in the line 5 deserve special attention. Although the noun !àò is tentatively translated as ‘origin’ in this context, it denotes, more accurately, ‘band’ or ‘ethnic group.’ Each ‘cluster of families’ (Tanaka, 1980) of the Glui/Glana have a vague consciousness of identifying themselves with a specific ‘descent group,’ even though its boundary is far from distinct. Here, Xo interprets the name of

this woman, which means “think,” to represent some disposition shared by the group in which she has originated. Her bad demeanor on a drunk is attributed to this disposition of “thinking and objecting” (*ʔan já ŋʰuē*).

However, Xo’s interpretation is entirely discrepant with the original context of naming that was explained by *ʔan* herself in the Case 13 (1). This discrepancy throws light onto the subtle behavior of the personal name in the conversational context. So far as the *Glui/Glana* naming commemorates some incident, its literal meaning should never describe any attribute of the person who were named after this incident. However, when this person is referred to in a conversation, the participant may arbitrarily ‘thaw’ the literal meaning, so as to articulate this meaning with his/her character that is regarded as problematic. Here, the signifying function of the name is detached from the social message that the name had carried in the original context, and is recycled as a resource for interpreting the present context. Is this usage of the personal name to be accused of logical confusion? Not necessarily so. The following example of conversation will indicate that the tension between the signifying function and the reference function emerges from some kind of logical consistency.

Case 14 (1). 79Mo *!hoa-ʔaja* (“desert the chief”) <Ego>: Father objected to what the chief said. Father said, “This man is not a chief!” and deserted him.⁽⁴⁾

Case 14 (2). Excerpt of conversation⁽⁵⁾ (3/11/’92): For the readability, the name *!hoa-ʔaja* is modified into *!Hoa-aya*. CH (in his early thirties), SK (middle-aged), and other two men are talking. CH is *!Hoa-aya*’s daughter’s husband. SK is CH’s mother’s elder sister’s husband.

- 1 CH: About [his] home land, a government officer came to talk about it a long time ago;
- 2 “You, Chuelo (the chief of Xade, and *!Hoa-aya*’s ‘son’⁽⁶⁾), you are sitting in this way,
- 3 but, who is the person, ranking with your father, your father’s kinsman,
- 4 and having borne you together with him?”; said so.
- 5 SK: *NnnN* (“No”; negative interjection)
- 6 CH: He said, “This man.” (+) And said, “*Nyaatsabuxoosi* (Setswana name of *!Hoa-aya*).”
- 7 *Ae*, (interjection expressing a slight surprise) they (*c, pl*; those who were there) also
- 8 said, “*Ae*, it’s he.” ((several passages omitted)) Then, he (Chuelo) stood up,
- 9 and ‘was fingerprinted’ (*hakisa*; loanword from Setswana),
- 10 and then they (*c, pl*; the officers) ‘took his head’ (took a photograph of his face).
- 11 And, he (*!Hoa-aya*) ‘guaranteed’ (*suuperama*; loanword from Setswana).”
- 12 SK: He (*!Hoa-aya*) was [also] fingerprinted. (+) But, him (Chuelo?), fingerprinted....
- 13 CH: But, the elder person (*!Hoa-aya*)---even when they (*m, dl*; Chuelo and his younger
- 14 brother) see him, [they] ignore him, and say,
- 15 {Look, like those children (*c, pl*).} They, the children, say
- 16 SK: {Don’t ignore *Nyaatsabuxoosi*! }
- 17 CH: “We don’t live with Daddy. Ill-natured (*qx’óò-χà*). Daddy is ill-natured.”
- 18 [It’s] the same with their nature (*qx’óò*). Lacking the ears [for listening].
- 19 SK: Like his children, he is, *Wai* (interjection expressing surprise), *Wai*, (–) ill-natured.
- 20 *!Hoa-aya*, like that way, never listen [to what the others speak].

- 21 CH: The other person never inherits his nature.
 22 SK: Oh! Oh!
 23 CH: If you, something---if you make something, would you
 {want to be at the different place} from where the thing you have made is?
 24 SK: {There is an elder without ears, } that man is.
 25 CH: Namely, as the father had been like this, [the father] said, “!Hoa-aya.” The father
 26 had been {always doing so, against a person, objected, objected, objected.}
 27 SK: {you (*c, pl*) say, Nyaatsabuxoosi, this saying means, }
 28 {“How badly we had objected.” }
 29 CH: {It’s the same! And [he] never says of a person, } “This rich man.”
 30 And he didn’t at all say of a person, “This great man.” The father
 31 {didn’t at all say so. This story is “!hoa-ʔaja.” }
 32 SK: {This is what that man was doing. [The man who] called so}
 33 is !ʔoẽʔò*’s father ((*the name of !Hoa-aya’s elder brother)).
 34 CH: *Eh*: (Yes)
 35 SK: *Eh*:

Let me explain the background of this conversation. Chuelo, mentioned in line 2, is the chief of Xade who was appointed by the government, when, in 1979, it began to implement the Remote Area Development Program in this area. In the ceremony of appointment, !Hoa-aya, Chuelo’s ‘small-father’ (!ōō-!oā; Chuelo’s father’s younger brother) guaranteed his <son>’s identity. However, at present (13 years later than the appointment), the chief, forgetting this debt to !Hoa-aya, ignores him. Thus, the orientation shared by CH and SK, at least from line 1 to 16, seemed to be their criticism of the recent demeanor of the chief, Chuelo. However, at line 15, CH’s argument turned to a different direction. He began to criticize for the obstinate character of !Hoa-aya, his father-in-law (WF). From line 19, SK cooperatively followed this shift of topic initiated by CH. CH’s argument is grounded on the residence relationship among !Hoa-aya and his married children. CH’s wife, the fourth child of !Hoa-aya, has two elder brothers and an elder sister, all of whom were living in the camps different from their father’s, when this conversation was recorded. As CH chose the uxorilocal residence, living with his wife’s parents, among !Hoa-aya’s married children, only CH’s wife was co-resident with her father. CH attributed the reason why another children lived separating from their father to !Hoa-aya’s ‘nature’ (*qx’óò*) that disposes him not to listen to the other’s words; metonymically represented with the phrase, “lacking the ears,” while SK agreed with CH’s argument.

CH’s reasoning is organized around the core concept of ‘nature’ or ‘character’ (*qx’óò*). The derivative morpheme *-xà* following a noun means that the subject has (or possesses) the object denoted by this noun. Thus, *qx’óò-xà* literally means “having the nature (or character)”. In sum, CH’s interpretation is as follows: !Hoa-aya’s children are not living in their father’s camp because they dislike their father’s too strong personality. Furthermore, he suggests that his children themselves also inherit his character. Originally, !Hoa-aya inherited this character from his father, designated as “!ʔoẽʔò’s father” in line 33: at that time when !Hoa-aya was born, his father had never admitted anyone as a chief, no matter how rich

the latter was, always objecting to, or soon deserting the alluded chief. Long time ago, the father named his son after his own act of “deserting the chief,” and at present the son behaves in the same way as the father.

Formulating in more general words, if the naming reflects some stable scheme that organizes a man’s experience in a specific social context, this scheme is very likely to be featured by an idiosyncratic psychological trait we designate as “character” or the Glui/Glana designate as *qɣ’óð*. As the Glui/Glana take it for granted, like us, that a child is similar to its parent, it might be also assumed that it would inherit above trait. Then, after growing up, if a man is faced with the context similar to the one his father had experienced, he would behave depending on the similar scheme shared with the father. It comes out that his behavior embodies the ‘nature’ that had been encoded into his name. Under this kind of especial condition, even the convention of naming a newborn baby after some incident reveals the latent possibility of what is similar to our folk-psychology: “Names and natures often agree.”

3-2. Devices for Reference

3-2-1. *Teknonymy*

In the Glui/Glana society, the strength, wisdom, or authority of the ‘elder’ (*glóò-kò*) are often emphasized. The social status of adolescents is drastically changed by marriage. Moreover, a person is definitely regarded as a mature adult, after he or she has a child. Although calling somebody’s name is not so strictly tabooed, the teknonym is more preferred when addressing to an adult. For example, as I have had a close relationship with my research assistant, *c^hērē-mā-!àòxó* (see Case 2), since 1982 when he had been adolescent, I used to call him using the shortened form of his name; “Cherexo!” However several years after his marriage (in 1988), one day he reproved me: “I’m an adult man. So it is more beautiful to call me ‘#ʔan-chèmà’s father’.” Here, #ʔan-chèmà is the name of his first daughter, which literally means “don’t like.” During a long time until Cherexo’s future wife, a Glana girl, accepted his courtship, she repeatedly refused his approach, declaring, “I don’t like you.” The husband named their first child after this bitter memory. This case of naming is classified into the type (1): circumstances of the marriage.

The child whose name constitutes the teknonym is the first one, irrespective of the sex, the husband has begotten or the wife has borne. The male or the female child’s name is followed by a gender suffix, *-m* or *-sì* (genitive case), respectively, and further this suffix is followed by the morpheme denoting ‘parent’ (*lōð*) with gender suffix again, *-bì* (masculine) or *-sì* (feminine), respectively in nominative case (or *-mà* and *-sà* in accusative case). Thus, Cherexo is called “#ʔan-chèmà-sì-lōð-bì”, while my wife is called “Yutaka-m lōð-sì (‘Yutaka’ is my first son’s name). This principle is applied independently either to the father or the mother, so that the teknonym reflects the history of the couple.

Case 15. As was described in Case 9 above, PR, the eldest man in my host group, divorced the first wife after she had borne a daughter. This daughter was named !āā-kémā (“fail to find the bride wealth”; 11Fm) after an episode in which PR’s affines (parents-in-law) had blamed their groom for gifting them scarcely. Therefore, he has been called “!āā-kémā-sì-lōō-bì”. On the other hand, after PR remarried Ho, she borne Cherexo with her lover. As Cherexo is the first child for her, she has been called “Cherexo-m̐ lōō-sì.”

Another point is to be noticed: even though the first child had been dead in infancy, the teknonym once established would never change: It is not rare that the name of an infant who had died so long time ago has survived for many years in the form of its parents’ teknonym, even though few people can remember its face.

From the father’s point of view, the practice of naming his first child entails an important consequence. Once he chooses to load the name with some social message, he commits himself to the circumstances where he would be called with the teknonym always evoking this message all through his remaining life. In this sense, naming the first child is equivalent to re-naming oneself.

3-2-2. *Aliases*

I have observed no case in which a person voluntarily calls him/herself with a self-styled name. All aliases I have described had been given by the other. They are distinguished into two types: (a) another name that had been given in Ego’s infancy, and (b) the nickname that was invented by those who are in joking relationship with Ego, after Ego has grown to juvenile, or even to full-adult.

The most simple case of the type (a) is the shortened form of a long name; e.g., *χoa-sée-glāē* (“marry with a woman once thrown away”; 15Fa) as *χou*, Cherexo described above, and *lʔāwā-sēēχó* (“setting a snare [and] abandon [it]”) as *lʔáō* (“set a snare”). More interesting case is that a completely different morpheme from the original name is adopted to depict some characteristics of the infant.

Case 16. 32Fo (*lʔoo-!tō* “[be about to] die [but] recover”: original name); *gl̥ōrī* (slender mongoose: another name) <Ego>: During her pregnancy, Mother was so sick that she was about to die, but she recovered. In my infancy, I was so little that the elder kinswomen, caressing me, said, “This baby is as small as the slender mongoose!”

Case 17 (1). 97My *cīō-χò-qχ’ane* (“refuse to accept termites”: original name); *tʰābūka* (onomatopoeia depicting the way an infant toddles: another name) <Father>: I had kept carefully observing a termite mound, until the termites were about to emerge. [As the termites would become fattest just before the emergence, the gatherer has to wait for the best harvest time to come.] One day I decided to dig up the nest. But, I came to the mound to find it already dug up. Two co-resident women dug it up and collected all the termites. I felt quite unpleasant. We argued and argued. They offered some of their harvest, but I refused to accept

it. Thus, he has this name. However, when he began to walk, the people laughed at the way he toddled with quite unsteady steps. So they said, “tʰābūká.” That was what they said.

Case 17 (2). <Fieldnote> (October 1994): Thabuka is my research assistant. In one afternoon, we were working with another young assistant, KA: they listened to the narrative replayed at the audio-tape recorder, and explained its content and context. When we encountered a word, *cíò* (sulk), I remembered Thabuka’s real name, and murmured, “cīō-χò-qχ’ane.” KA dubiously asked; “Whose name?” Thabuka, a little embarrassed, replied; “My name.” KA was surprised and said, “I have never known it!” I was so surprised that I cried, “*Waii*, don’t you know even your cross-cousin’s name?!”

The last anecdote represents an extreme case: The real name is so completely covered with another name that even the close kinsman does not know it. Although such a situation is very rare among the Glui/Glana, it is to be emphasized that, if a person has the real name and another name, the latter is far more frequently used than the former to refer to, as well as to address to, him/her.

Only several cases of alias included by the type (b), i.e., nickname in the narrow sense, were recorded. As was described in the Case 12, *gʰame-gù* (utensil with a hole: 160ml) is an example. The most interesting process through which the nickname is invented is as follows: 1) Someone experiences some failure, 2) those in joking relationship with him, typically cross-cousins (*gʰoaʔò*), are interested in this episode, 3) they invent a nickname that describes or depicts the failure, and begin to call him with this nickname, and 4) this nickname becomes on everybody’s lips, and persists for many years. Only an example, with which I was deeply impressed, is described below:

Case 18. *ɲlólē-sà-bèē-bì* (“the moon”-PGN (3/f/sg/acc)-“fear for”-PGN (3/m/sg/nom) <Research assistants and Ego>: A middle-aged man, *!oā* (125Mo), participated in a team for the equestrian hunting. After the butchering, he left for home alone in the hot afternoon. On the way, he found an ostrich egg. He was so thirsty and exhausted that he drank the raw liquid of the egg. Then, he took a nap in the shade of a bush. When he waked up, the sun had just set. Above the east horizon, the huge full moon were rising. Just looking at it, he was deadly terrified. Being seized with panic, he was running towards the Xade settlement. When he tumbled down into his camp, his trousers were torn to shreds with the thorny shrubs. Being asked by the surrounding people, he only said, “I was frightened by the moon.” After this incident, those in a joking relationship with him began to call him with a nickname; “a man in fear of the moon” (*ɲlólē-sà-bèē-bì*).

Another notable point for the nickname is its mutuality, or reciprocal relation, between addresser and addressee.

Case 19. *pʰāāpʰūū* (“bigmouth”; onomatopoeia?) <Field notes>: The Glui/Glana have given several intriguing nicknames to the Japanese researcher. For example,

K. Ikeya, quite a hardworking man, is given a nickname of !ôð-kene (“go”-“want”) after his energetic disposition to go everyday to everywhere for the research. I myself was named by !Hoa-aya (see Case 14) |χóð-qχ’am (“gemsbok”-“mouth”) after my white beard around the mouth that resembles the black-and-white pattern on the muzzle of the gemsbok. Let us turn our attention to my research assistant, Cherexo (see Cases 14 and 15). J. Tanaka had been long amazed at Cherexo’s conspicuous talkativeness. In 1994, when Tanaka had a short stay at Xade, I found a new word, *p^hāāp^hūū*, that means “bigmouth.” Tanaka liked this word so much that he often called Cherexo “p^hāāp^hūū.” After he left Xade for an extensive survey, I noticed that whenever Cherexo referred to Tanaka, he used this nickname “p^hāāp^hūū.” I attempted to point out his fault, saying, “Tanaka called you ‘p^hāāp^hūū’. P^hāāp^hūū is your name!” Cherexo responded at once: “Because I and Tanaka are cross-cousins (*g^hoa?ð*) of each other, we are able to call each other with the same name. Look! My father-in-law calls you |χóð-qχ’am. So you may call him |χóð-qχ’am.”

Cherexo’s reply moved me, since it revealed the sense underlying the humorous nicknames; that is, some kind of friendship the Glui/Glana project toward us Japanese researchers. Furthermore, the mutuality of the nickname illuminates another tension between reference and signification. When P invents a nickname for Q, and addresses it to the latter, it has an explicit signifying function of describing or depicting some of Q’s attributes. However, once Q returns the same nickname to P relying on the reciprocal relation, the original signification should be dislocated, because the description or depiction of Q’s attributes would not be relevant for P who is addressed. This is another way in which the signifying function of the morphemes constituting a name is frozen into the opaqueness of the proper name.

4. THE CONNOTATION OF A NAME

4-1. What is the Connotation of a Name?

In the first section, the connotation of a name was defined as some ‘positional value’ each one name has, being opposed to the other names, in the whole structure of the name set that has been stored in a specific society. Here, it might be necessary to explain what is the positional value. Citing Japanese individual name (the second name) as an illustration, the simplest example of this value is the masculinity and the femininity connoted by a name. Most Japanese individual names are distinguishable in gender: We Japanese have developed a subtle intuition that can discern some set of names that are applicable to male individuals from another set to females. In other words, the simplest positional value is attached to the dichotomous and mutually exclusive categories of male and female. It is a matter of course that there is a class of names that stands at the liminal border between these two categories: The ambiguous names in their applicability

to either sex; e.g., Hiromi, Masami, Kaoru, and Kei. Turning to the Glui/Glana names, however, the features that are pertinent to the gender distinction are not at all found either at the level of anecdote typology or at the level of lexeme compositions. However, in an actual context in which a personal name is used, there cannot arise any equivocation concerning the gender of the person it denotes, since the name is always accompanied with a suffix which marks gender.

4-2. The Different Persons with the Same Name

The second kind of positional value is based on the frequency distribution of each name in the whole set. An interesting example is ‘too ordinary name.’ In the present Japan, the impression that “Yamada Taro” sounds too ordinary, maybe paradoxically, contributes to some especial effect evoked by this name. In the same token, “Pochi” has long been regarded as the most popular name of the dog in Japan. However, it can be assumed that, if a large-scaled and systematic statistical survey were carried out, this name would come out to be quite rare. Thus, the impression of ‘ordinary’ does not necessarily reflect the objective frequency, but is transformed into some cultural value. However, for the Glui/Glana name, the inversed picture is the case: There is no ordinary name because the number of the persons with the same name is quite small.

To examine the above point, the inventory of the identified names given to 167 persons will be re-examined (Table 3). Only two pairs of persons had the same name.

Case 20 (1). 51Mj **pakiika** (cheat; loanword from Setswana) [Pubescent boy in Case 4 (2) born in around 1978] 67Fj **patiika** [Juvenile girl born in around 1980] <Father; Father and Mother>: How the father, SK, named his son pakiika was already described in Case 4 (2). About two years later, SK’s affine, SH (SK’s wife’s father’s younger brother’s son), had a female baby. SH had kept a close relationship with a couple of #Ebe: The husbands agreed with each other to develop their relationship into the ‘true *dzáã-kú*’ (*dzáã-kú* #*pero é*; literally “*dzáã-kú* itself”), in which the mate-swapping and the gift-exchanges would be carried out. Although at first SH’s wife was quite reluctant to agree with her husband’s proposal, she slept with the #Ebe man at last. However, that #Ebe man’s wife refused to sleep with SH. SH’s wife bore a baby begotten by the #Ebe man. SH recognized that not only the #Ebe couple but also his own wife cheated him, so that he gave a name that means “cheat” (*l'àè!àrè* in Glui) to this baby. It is certain that SH had already known how his affine, SK, had given the same name to his son. In addition, the difference between [k] in pakiika and [t] in patiika might be due to an idiosyncratic phonetic variation of the same phoneme.⁽⁷⁾

Case 20 (2). lqàò-jí (“go getting something”-derivational morpheme denoting the purposed object); (i) 115Mo <Ego>: Father was living at Kaochue (the homeland of the author’s host group locating about 50 km south to Xade). He was yearning for tobacco leaves so eagerly that he traveled to Reikopusi (Rakops; about 150 km northeast away from Xade). When he came back home, I had

already been born; (ii) 167F <Ego>: I was born soon after that old man, lqàò-jí, had been born. As Father was a close friend with lqàò-jí's father, and he liked that name, he gave me the same name.

Taking the above cases into consideration, it cannot be assumed that the Glui/Glana are obsessed with a kind of 'desire for differentiation.' In other words, it might not be plausible to suppose that the father of a newborn baby is strongly motivated to think of a unique name he has never been heard.

Let me quantitatively re-examine the names of 167 persons, for which the episodes commemorated were identified. In terms of the number of names, 98.8 percent (163/165) of all the kinds of name were given to only one individual. In terms of the number of persons, 97.6 percent (163/167) of all the persons whose names were analyzed had a name unique to each of them. The average number of persons per one name is 1.01 (167/165). The implication of this result will be discussed in the final section.

5. DISCUSSION

5-1. The Problem of Reference

In this article, I could not afford analyzing the nonverbal aspect of face-to-face interactions in which a person is referred to. A prospect for the inquiry into this aspect will be briefly summarized. The simplest nonverbal way for referring to a person is the deictic gesture, that is, pointing. In Glui/Glana everyday life, the pointing (^hāā) is quite a popular gesture. "To show something" or even "too teach" is represented by the verb ^hāā. Aggressive pointing is often observed in the face-to-face interactions especially between juveniles, and the behavior of pointing is referred to as a kind of "body idiom" in conversation (Sugawara, 1990). More subtle gestures, such as 'protruding lips,' 'moving chin upward,' and 'directing gaze' are no less important. I have observed a case in which a male participant in a conversation circle intended to give a bitter comment on the demeanor of his co-resident man who was not in the circle but inside his own hut near. Verbally, the conversationalist spoke in quite a roundabout way, while he turned his head backward in the direction to the hut of the man who was criticized. This case suggests that the personal name is not an indispensable tool to effectively refer to a specific person.

As a thought experiment, let us imagine of a society where many sets of members share the same name. In such a situation, they would have no difficulty to refer to a specific person, because they can make use of various qualifiers, either verbal or nonverbal. For an interactive analysis of the act of reference, the pure 'proper' name to a unique individual is unnecessary. Rather, we have to assume the continuum of referential practices that bridges both verbal and nonverbal channels. In the scheme below 'n' indicates various kinds of linguistic resources that function as the 'name' (or the designator in Kripke's sense) including personal name, while 'q' indicates the qualifier:

- Proper Name $\rightarrow n \rightarrow (n + q1) \rightarrow [(n + q1) + q2]$
 $\rightarrow \{[(n + q1) + q2] + q3\} \rightarrow \text{etc.}$
 Pointing \rightarrow protruding lips \rightarrow moving chin upward
 \rightarrow changing gaze direction \rightarrow etc.

The “Proper Name” at the left pole of the upper continuum is the ideal form of name that refers only to one singular individual in the world. Although the upper and lower lines respectively indicate verbal and nonverbal channels, in actual face-to-face interactions these two channels would be overlapped in quite a subtle way. Thus, the qualifiers in the upper continuum might be nonverbal behavior. By a little modification, teknonyms, kinship terms, and nicknames can be posited at some place in the above continuum. Whenever the participants in face-to-face interactions need to refer to a person, s/he would invoke some part of the continuum, and this choice depends on the strategy of interaction that is relevant for the local context.

5-2. Fragmentation Versus Iteration

The naming custom among the Glui/Glana stands in sharp contrast to the “homonymous method” and “name relationship” among the !Kung San (designated as Jul’hoan in recent anthropological literatures) inhabiting Nyae Nyae area in north-east Namibia (Marshall, 1976). Among the !Kung, the repertoire of personal names constitutes a finite set: 48 male names and 41 female names are known. Personal names are selected from this limited stock and “are repeated over and over from generation to generation” (Marshall, 1976: 225). Furthermore, the method of naming is definitely standardized: The first son and the first daughter must be given the names of his/her patrilineal grandparents (his father’s father and her father’s mother). Although it is not so strictly coded how to name the second son and the second daughter, the names of matrilineal grandparents are often applied. The generational terms, as well as the joking-avoidance relationships, are also determined by this naming system. The inter-personal relationships expected from the homonymous method is extended to the people beyond the direct kinship relationships. Thus, even when a !Kung man travels to the other area than Nyae Nyae and sees a strange person, he can know an adequate way to treat with the latter by consulting the latter’s name.

In his volume developing the anthropological theory of personal names, A. Deguchi proposes the dichotomy of naming system; “differentiation” versus “iteration” (Deguchi, 1995: in Japanese). Inspired by Lévi-Strauss’s intuition that an individual always entails the species, and vice versa, Deguchi argues that the apparent difference between the two systems is not essential, because “differentiation” always entails “iteration”. However, I suspect that the term differentiation is misleading, because its original definition in mathematics prerequisites the continuous function. Thus, the above proposition seems to be tautology. For this reason, I prefer “fragmentation” to “differentiation”.

The two San groups, Glui/Glana and the !Kung, respectively exemplify opposite poles of naming system, “fragmentation” and “iteration”. How do these two San groups make use of this specific linguistic resource, the personal name? In

sum, the !Kung make best use of this resource to manipulate ongoing social relationships, while the Glui/Glana, through the process of naming, interpret and understand personal experience in a specific socio-cultural context, so as to communally memorize and memorialize this interpretation and understanding. In this sense, the naming custom of the Glui/Glana embodies a unique mnemonic device.

Although a similar naming system is very common among various Bantu cultures, the peculiar feature of the Glui/Glana is that the kinds of name are quite divergent, resulting in a low proportion of the “same name.” It is concluded that this divergence reflects the most essential characteristics of the everyday field of Glui/Glana discourse, where naming is contiguous with ordinary speech.

5-3. Remaining Issue: Recent Change at the Relocated Village

It is to be emphasized that the ‘ethnographic present’ of this article is from about 1920 (estimated birth year of the eldest informant) to 1994. However, J. Maruyama, having started her research at Kx’oensakene (New Xade; relocated village) in 2000, noticed a number of cases in which a new-born baby inherited the name of its kinsman/woman belonging to upper generation (Maruyama personal com.). One of the factors causing such acculturation might be the increased contact and intermarriage with Naro, whose naming convention generally follows the “iteration” system (Visser & Visser, 1998), as well as the immigration of the relatives of previous Xade residents who had been working in neighboring farms and cattle-posts. It is expected that Maruyama’s forthcoming investigation will reveal ongoing change in the Glui/Glana naming practice in the recent situation of the relocated village.

NOTES

- (1) From May to September 1997, the government carried out its relocation program, and all of the residents of the Xade settlement, including Glui/Glana, and Bakgalagadi agropas-toralists, migrated to Kx’oensakene (New Xade), a new settlement outside the CKGR about 70 km away from Xade (Ikeya, 2001). The ethnographic present of this article is before the relocation.
- (2) The derivational particle, *-kú*, connected to the preceding verb, means mutuality or “each other.” See also the comment on ‘marriage’ in section 2.3.
- (3) In a famous volume, *Man the Hunter*, compiling a number of articles of the foragers in 1960s, Lee & DeVore (1968: 10–11) cite “the magic numbers” of hunter-gatherer demography: 500 as the modal size of “tribe” (or regional population) and 25–50 as the most frequent size of a local group.
- (4) According to the historical reconstruction by Ikeya (1999), it is supposed that late in the 19th century or early in the 20th century, the Glui/Glana might have been subjected to a kind of “tribute system” governed by the Tswana chief in the northeast region to the central Kalahari. It is assumed that in Xade area the Glana chief designated as *ʔaja-ko* (“rich person”) collected the hides of the games from the people, carried and paid them to the Tswana chief.
- (5) Transcript notations are as follows: (+) : silence of about a second; (–): silence of about

- 0.5 second; “words”: phrases interpreted as the quotation of someone’s speech; (*m*, *c*): gender of pronouns, masculine and common respectively; (*dl*, *pl*): number of pronouns, dual or plural forms respectively; (words): simple translation or supplemental information; [words]: supplemental translation; {words}: simultaneous discourse or overlapped utterances; ((words)): comment or description by the author.
- (6) Accurately, Chuelo is the son of !Hoa-aya’s elder brother born from a different mother. In the Glui/Glana kinship terminology, son and daughter of Ego’s elder sibling of the same sex are designated as ‘son’ and ‘daughter’, while son and daughter of Ego’s younger sibling of the same sex or of Ego’s sibling of the different sex are designated as ‘nephew’ and ‘niece’ (*ŋlóórĩ*), respectively. These latter terms are also applied to all of Ego’s grandchildren (Ōno, 1996).
- (7) In a Setswana-English dictionary, *patika* is translated as “opress; distress; do wrong to” (Brown, 1982)

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